

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SAIGON 10362

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TAGS: PFOR IV US

SUBJECT: SPEECH TO AMERICAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF CHARGE'S SPEECH DELIVERED AT MEETING
OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION SAIGON ON AUGUST 6. TEXT
HAS BEEN RELEASED TO PRESS HERE.

MRS. ANDREWS, LADIES, MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIA-
TION OF SAIGON, LET ME BEGIN BY THANKING YOU FOR YOUR KIND INVI-
TATION TO SPEAK HERE TODAY. FROM WHAT I HAVE HEARD OF THE RANGE
AND QUALITY OF YOUR PROGRAMS IN THE PAST, I WAS FLATTERED AND
PERHAPS A BIT INTIMIDATED THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE ASKED ME TO ADDRESS
ONE OF YOUR MEETINGS. AT THE SAME TIME, I AM PLEASED TO HAVE THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CURIOUS
CASE OF THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMS -- ONE REAL, THE OTHER MYTHICAL --
WHICH BULK LARGE TODAY IN CONSIDERATIONS OF AMERICAN POLICY
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

THESE TWO VIETNAMS BEAR APPROXIMATELY THE SAME RELATIONSHIP
TO EACH OTHER AS A MAN TO HIS REFLECTION IN A FUN HOUSE MIRROR.

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WE RECOGNIZE CERTAIN SIMILARITIES, SOME FEATURES ARE THE SAME,

BUT THE WHOLE EFFECT IS SO DISTORTED AND SO GROTESQUE THAT WE WOULD NEVER MISTAKE THE REAL MAN FOR THE ILLUSION THE MIRROR'S FACE -- UNLESS, OF COURSE, ALL WE EVER SAW WAS THE REFLECTION.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, A DETERMINED EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO DISTORT THE REAL VIETNAM. THE AIM OF THIS PROPAGANDA EFFORT IS TO CREATE A SYSTEM OF MYTHOLOGY, A "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM," WHICH IS USED BY ITS ADHERENTS WITH TENACIOUS ORTHODOXY TO INTERPRET ALL VIETNAMESE EVENTS AS PROOF OF THE IRREDEEMABLE PERFDY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM AND THE FOLLY OF CONTINUED AMERICAN ASSISTANCE.

I AM SURE THAT MOST OF YOU ARE ACQUAINTED WITH THE MAJOR MYTHS FROM THIS PANTHEON, SUCH AS THE ABUSURD CHARGE THAT THERE ARE 200,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING HELD IN THIS COUNTRY. IT WOULD SERVE NO PURPOSE FOR ME TO REPEAT THEM ONCE AGAIN.

RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE MYTH MAKERS HAVE CONCENTRATED THEIR EFFORTS ON YET ANOTHER FICTION, THIS TIME CONCERNING WHERE THE RESPONSIBILITY LIES FOR THE CONTINUED FIGHTING IN VIETNAM. LIKE THE OTHER MYTHS, IT IS PERSISTENT. LIKE OTHER MYTHS IT WILL ALSO EVENTUALLY COLLAPSE. IN AN EFFORT TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION IN SOME DETAIL.

WHY, ONE AND ONE-HALF YEARS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING THE PEACE IN VIETNAM, DOES MILITARY VIOLENCE PERSIST IN THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM?

THE ANSWER OF THE APOLOGISTS FOR HANOI IS SWIFT, UNSUPPORTED AND UNANIMOUS: THE FAULT LIES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM AND WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS RESPONSE HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING SIMPLE, GLIB AND QUICK OFF THE MARK. IT ALSO BEARS NO RELATION TO THE ACTUAL RECORD.

WHAT THAT RECORD IN FACT REVEALS IS THAT THERE IS ONE CLEAR REASON FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM WHICH ALL OF THE VIGOROUS PROPAGANDA OF HANOI CANNOT OBSCURE: NORTH VIETNAM AND ITS SOUTHERN SHADOW THE SO-CALLED "PRG", CONSISTENTLY REFUSE TO HONOR THE PARIS AGREEMENT. THE FACTS OF THE CASE WILL PERMIT NO OTHER CONCLUSION.

THE UNITED STATES WITHDREW ALL OF ITS TROOPS WITHIN THE 60-DAY PERIOD SPECIFIED BY THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND HAS SCRUPULOUSLY KEPT ITS REPLACEMENT ASSISTANCE FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT WELL WITHIN THE ONE-FOR-ONE LEVEL PROVIDED FOR IN THE AGREEMENT. THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM, FOR ITS PART, HAS NAMED POINTS OF ENTRY FOR REPLACEMENT OF ARMAMENTS AND MUNITIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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ARTICLE 7 OF THE PROTOCOL ON THE CEASE-FIRE AND HAS SOUGHT TO INITIATE PROCEDURES FOR THE INSPECTION OF MUNITIONS SHIPMENTS UNDER ARTICLE 7 OF THE AGREEMENT.

THE RECORD OF THE OTHER SIDE IS IN MARKED AND DISMAL CONTRAST. THEY HAVE REFUSED TO EVEN DISCUSS PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTING THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 7 OF THE CEASE-FIRE PROTOCOL. SINCE THE CEASE-FIRE, NORTH VIETNAM HAS CONTINUED EFFORTS TO BUILD AN ALL-WEATHER TRANSPORTATION NETWORK INTO THE SOUTH. OVER THESE

ROADS THEY HAVE CLANDESTINELY SMUGGLED ARMS AND MINITIONS INTO SOUTH VIETNAM INCLUDING ARMORED VEHICLES AND ARTILLERY. IN THE PROCESS THEY HAVE INCREASED THEIR INVENTORIES OF WEAPONS AND WAR MATERIEL CONSIDERABLY BEYOND WHAT THEY POSSESSED IN SOUTH VIETNAM AT THE TIME OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THUS HAVE AGAIN VIOLATED THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

IN PERHAPS THE CENTRAL FACT OF THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM TODAY, NORTH VIETNAM HAS CONTINUED TO INFILTRATE TROOPS INTO THE SOUTH -- A DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT'S PROHIBITION OF THE INTRODUCTION OF TROOPS INTO SOUTH VIETNAM FROM THE OUTSIDE. TODAY THERE ARE CLOSE TO 200,000 REGULAR TROOPS OF THE ARMY OF NORTH VIETNAM IN SOUTH VIETNAM. IN ADDITION, 40-50,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN INFILTRATED DOWN THE TRAILS IN AN APPARENT EFFORT BY THE DRV TO COLONIZE THE SO-CALLED "LIBERATED ZONES" AND THUS PROVIDE A POOR SUBSTITUTE FOR THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO LIVE UNDER COMMUNIST RULE.

WHAT IS APPARENT FROM ALL THIS IS THAT THE WAR-MAKING INTENT OF THE DRV IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS THE SINGLE GREAT CAUSE OF THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND THE MAJOR OBSTACLE TO THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

THE PARIS AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION TO OVERSEE THE CEASE-FIRE. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM HAVE FACILITATED THE WORK OF THE ICCS IN SOUTH VIETNAM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND THE RELEVANT PROTOCOL. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE SUPPORTED THE ICCS BUDGET AND HAVE MET THEIR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS.

IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF THESE ARTICLES, THE OTHER SIDE HAS PREVENTED THE ICCS FROM FUNCTIONING WHENEVER IT COULD. THROUGH DELAYS IN PROVIDING LIAISON OFFICERS AND OTHER PROCEDURAL OBSTRUCTIONS, THE COMMUNIST SIDE HAS CONTINUALLY IMPEDED THE WORK OF THE ICCS. THEH HAVE REFUSED TO MAKE ANY FURTHER FINANCIAL UNCLASSIFIED

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ICCS IN MORE THAN A YEAR -- THOUGH THEY SOLEMNLY AGREED TO SO BY SIGNING THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

ARTICLE 20 OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT SPECIFICALLY FORBIDS ANY PARTY TO US THE TERRITORY OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS "TO ENCROACH ON THE SOVEREIGNTY AND SECURITY OF ONE ANOTHER AND OF OTHER COUNTRIES." THIS PROVISION HAS SIMPLY BEEN IGNORED BY NORTH VIETNAM. SINCE THE CEASE-FIRE, NORTH VIETNAMESE INFILTRATION ROUTES THROUGH LAOS AND COMBODIA HAVE BEEN EXPANDED AND EXTENSIVELY USED TO SUPPORT NORTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SOUTH VITNAM. NORTH VIETNAM MAINTAINS BASE AREAS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. NOT CONTENT WITH SPURNING THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM,HNORTH VIETNAM IS CONSCIOUSLY VIOLATING THE LAO ACCORDS BY MAINTAINING 45,000 REGULAR TROOPS ON LAOTIAN SOIL AS WELL AS ABOUT TWO BATTALIONS OF ITS TROOPS ALONG THE LAOTIAN SIDE OF THE BORDER WITH THAILAND.

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AT THE TIME OF THE CEASE-FIRE, THE COMMUNIST SIDE ADMITTED TO
HOLDING ONLY 5,428 PRISONERS OF WAR AND A MERE 637 CIVILIAN ADHERENTS
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM, WHOM THEY EVENTUALLY RELEASED. YET, THERE

REMAIN OVER 70,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS WHO HAVE BEEN LISTED AS
MISSING OVER THE PAST TWENTY YEARS AND OVER 25,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESE
MILITARY PERSONNEL LISTED AS MISSING IN ACTION, FOR WHOM HANOI AND ITS

PUPPET REFUSE TO GIVE AN ACCOUNTING. THEY STEADFASTLY IGNORE DETAIL-
ED
LISTS AND POST-CAPTIVITY EVIDENCE OF THOSE THEY ARE KNOWN TO HAVE HELD

AND HAVE NEVER RELEASED.

BY CONTRAST, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM HAS RELEASED ALL MILITARY
AND CIVILIAN ADHERENTS OF THE OTHER SIDE: 26,880 PRISONERS OF WAR AND
5,081 CIVILIAN DETAINEES. TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY EIGHT FORMER ENEMY
SOLDIERS AND 211 CIVILIANS CHOSE NOT TO RETURN TO THE OTHER SIDE AND
HAVE NOW BEEN ASSIMILATED INTO SOUTH VIETNAMESE SOCIETY.

AT THE TIME OF THE CEASE-FIRE, THERE WERE MORE THAN THREE QUARTERS

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OF A MILLION REFUGEES FROM HANOI'S SO-CALLED LIBERATION BEING CARED FOR BY THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM IN ITS REFUGEE CENTERS. BY THE END OF LAST JUNE, IN A TRULY IMPRESSIVE DEMONSTRATION OF HUMANITARIAN EFFORT, THE GVN HAD SUCCEEDED IN RESETTLING ALL BUT 54,000. NOT CONTENT WITH HAVING DRIVEN THESE PEOPLE FROM THEIR FORMER HOMES, AND ENRAGED BY THE SUCCESS OF THE VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES IN PROVIDING THEM WITH NEW STARTS IN LIFE WHICH MADE THEIR OWN EFFORTS AT SEDUCTION

APPEAR ALL THE MORE LUDICROUS, HANOI'S MINNIONS HAVE FELT COMPELLED TO RESORT TO A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN TO PILLAGE AND BURN RESETTLEMENT VILLAGES AND ABDUCT THE PEOPLE WHOM IT HAD BEEN UNABLE TO WIN OVER OR INTIMIDATE.

IN SIMILAR FASHION, DURING THEIR CURRENT PHASE OF ATTACKS HANOI'S TERRORISTS HAVE DIRECTED A SIGNIFICANT EFFORT SPECIFICALLY AGAINST THE

CIVILIAN POPULATION. THIS HAS CREATED NEW REFUGEES -- WHOSE HOPES FOR

PEACE AND A DECENT LIVELIHOOD HAVE ONCE AGAIN BEEN SHATTERED -- NOT BY

THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM AS THE MYTHOLOGISTS WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE, BUT BY HANOI.

IF ONE CONTRASTS THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM TO ACHIEVE A GENUINE CEASE-FIRE WITH THE PERSISTENT EFFORTS OF HANOI TO PERPETUATE VIOLENCE, THESE NEWEST DEPREDACTIONS AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION COME AS NO SURPRISE. ON JANUARY 16, 1974, THE GVN MADE A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL TO DE-ESCALATE THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE. HAD THE OTHER SIDE ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSAL TO CEASE USING INDIRECT FIRE WEAPONS (MORTARS, ROCKETS, AND ARTILLERY), TO STOP LAYING MINES AND OTHER LETHAL

DEVICES IN ROADS, WATERWAYS, AND CULTIVATED AREAS, AND TO REFRAIN FROM TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN POPULATED AREA, SUFFERING AND CASUALTIES AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULACE WOULD HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY ELIMINATED. THE COMMUNIST SIDE REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND AND BRANDED IT "A DIRTY TRICK."

ARTICLE 8 (B) IS PERHAPS THE LEAST CONTROVERSIAL OF THE AGREEMENT. IT SETS UP A FOUR PARTY JOINT MILITARY TEAM AS A FORUM FOR THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MISSING IN ACTION AND ASSISTANCE IN THE REPATRIATION OF THE REMAINS OF THE DEAD. ITS PURPOSES ARE PURELY HUMANITARIAN AND IN NO WAY LINKED TO THE AGREEMENT'S POLITICAL PROVISIONS.

BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM HAVE MADE
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EVERY EFFORT TO CARRY OUT THE PROVISIONS OF THE ARTICLE.

THE RESPONSE HAS BEEN A CALCULATED EFFORT BY THE OTHER SIDE TO EXPLOIT THE UNCERTAINTY OF OVER 1,100 AMERICAN FAMILIES OF THE MISSING FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL PURPOSES. RATHER THAN DISCUSS CRASH SITES, THEY HAVE PREFERRED TO DALLY OVER QUESTIONS OF "PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES."

RATHER THAN RELIEVE THE SUFFERING OF THE MANY FAMILIES INVOLVED, THEY HAVE OBSTRUCTED AND WALKED OUT OF MEETINGS OVER PETTY PROCEDURAL POINTS.

AT BINH CHANH ON DECEMBER 15 OF LAST YEAR, THE OTHER SIDE GAVE CHILLING EVIDENCE OF THE CYNICISM WITH WHICH IT REGARDS ARTICLE 8 (B).

IN A JOINT EFFORT, THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM SOUGHT TO INVESTIGATE A CRASH SITE LOCATED THERE. IN THE FPJMT BOTH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THE "PRG" WERE NOTIFIED. THEY SAID NOTHING. THEIR RESPONSE CAME THE THIRD DAY OF THE INVESTIGATION. WHEN THE TEAM ARRIVED THEY WERE MET BY AN AMBUSH. THOUGH THE HELICOPTER WAS CLEARLY MARKED AND ALL PERSONNEL UNARMED, THE OTHER SIDE MURDERED THE AMERICAN TEAM LEADER, CAPTAIN REESE, AND HIS VIETNAMESE COMPANION IN COLD BLOOD.

THE CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THIS PLAIN RECORD OF DISREGARD AND FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT ARE CLEAR. THE OUTDATED IDEOLOGICAL PRECONCEPTIONS HELD BY THE OLD GENERATION LEADERSHIP IN HANOI TOLD THEM THAT AS SOON AS AMERICAN FORCES AND MILITARY ADVISERS WERE WITHDRAWN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE WOULD COLLAPSE. WHEN THIS DID NOT HAPPEN, WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES WOULD OVERWHELMINGLY

REJECT COMMUNIST RULE THE AGED MEN IN HANOI COULD DEVELOP NO ALTERNATIVE THAN TO CONTINUE -- WITH COMPLETE DISREGARD OF THE WELFARE OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE -- THEIR FRUITLESS EFFORT TO CONQUER SOUTH VIETNAM BY MILITARY MEANS.

AS THE LONG YEARS HAVE PASSED, THE TIDES OF HISTORY HAVE PLACED THAT GOAL IRRETRIEVABLY OUT OF REACH. MEN AND EVENTS HAVE RADICALLY ALTERED SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE WORLD. EVEN IN NORTH VIETNAM A NEW GENERATION IS WAITING IN THE WINGS.

YET FOR THE LEADERS OF THE NORTH IT SEEMS ALMOST AS IF TIME STOPPED THIRTY YEARS AGO. THEY SEEM IMPERVIOUS TO THE CURRENTS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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HISTORY. AS THEY HAVE GROWN OLDER, THE MORE RIGID THEY HAVE BECOME. AS THE IDEOLOGY OF THEIR YOUTH HAS BECOME MORE OBSOLETE, THE MORE TENACIOUSLY HAVE THEY INSISTED UPON ITS ORTHODOXY. THEY HAVE COME TO BELIEVE IN THEIR OWN MYTHS AND WOULD RATHER PUT IN PRISON THEIR OWN FUTURE LEADERS THAN ADJUST TO CURRENT REALITY.

THE RECORD IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THE LEADERSHIP IN HANOI HAS NOT YET COME TO THE REALIZATION THAT THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT, AN END TO THE VIOLENCE IS ALSO IN THE INTEREST OF THE

PEOPLE OF NORTH VIETNAM, AND THAT THE DREAMS OF CONQUEST WILL BRING
TO THEIR OWN PEOPLE NOTHING BUT SUFFERING IN PURSUIT OF AN ILLUSION.
WHEN REALITY DOES PREVAIL -- AND I BELIEVE IT INEVITABLY WILL --
THEN A REAL PEACE WILL COME TO VIETNAM.

FOR US AMERICANS OUR REMAINING TASK IS TO HASTEN THAT DAY.
THAT IS WHY OUR ASSISTANCE IS SO CRUCIAL. WITH THAT ASSISTANCE THE
GOAL OF AN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. CAPABLE OF
DEFENDING ITSELF WITH ITS OWN MANPOWER AND FREE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN
LEADERS AS ITS PEOPLE MAY FREELY DETERMINE IS VERY MUCH WITHIN REACH.
AND, HAVING ACHIEVED THAT GOAL, AMERICANS CAN LOOK BACK ON THIS
CHAPTER IN OUR HISTORY AND SAY WITH PRIDE THAT WE WOULD NOT BE DIVER-
TED BY MYTHS BUT KEPT FAITH WITH THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND LIVED UP TO
OUR BEST TRADITIONS. END TEXT.
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